1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
'ashamed' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are 'ashamed'. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. 'Oh, that,' she said in effect. 'Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

304 All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [53] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em- 301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[706] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the
(836) girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ≠Auin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

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[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are
302 to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

145 I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen. I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

It is recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. On the expedition it was not seen north of the Ghanzi area but near Ghanzi and to the south it was widely scattered, and sometimes fairly common in small patches. 137

The fruits are edible, and the remarks on the fruits of *Ximenia caffra* apply to the fruits of this species also. Ripe fruits were found at Ghanzi in July, although fruiting is usually over by then. [824]

Ximenia caffra Sond. (4949) Photograph 12.

!h5: Bushman..... n≠ ʔuri
‖ganakwe Bushman... n≠ ʔuri
gikwe Bushman..... ≠ɔ!i
Naron Bushman..... n≠ ʔuri

A stout or straggly evergreen bush or small tree, usually about six feet high, with soft brittle branches and knobby rough twigs which are densely leafy and sometimes end in a sharp spine. There are often spines in the axils of the leaves as well. The leaves are dark green and tend to curve backwards slightly, and they and the young twigs are softly hairy. The flowers appear in early summer. They are massed along the twigs and have four recurved green petals with conspicuous white hairs on the inside. The fruit is the size of a plum, and an attractive light red.

It probably occurs in Angola, for it has been recorded from northern South West Africa near the Angola border. It is also known from Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. Like the other species of *Ximenia*, it was not seen along the route of the expedition north of the Ghanzi area.

The fruit is edible. It has a bitter skin and a large stone, and a reddish pulp between them, pleasantly flavoured but astringent and sour, and particularly sour next to the stone. It is at its best when over-ripe, for it does not become soft and unpleasant as many fruits do, but dries out slightly, becoming wrinkled in the process and more mellow, with the flavour of a prune. The stone is rich in oil, but this is said to be very pungent (Marloth, 1913-1932: I: 165) and to contain a rubbery substance (Schweikerdt, 1937: 179-182). The Bushmen use it to anoint themselves but do not consider it edible. It has been tested in England for possible commercial uses, but it was decided that the oil was not worth extracting. [302 824]

Hydnora sp. (5162) Photograph 13.

Eastern !khū Bushman ‖hɔk ʔam

This curious plant is parasitic on the roots of *Combretum hereroense*. It is almost completely subterranean and is without chlorophyll. There is very little of the plant until it produces its flowers and fruits, which are much larger than the vegetative parts. The fruits are buried a few inches deep and are the size and shape of a pomegranate, but have a dark roughened woody shell split by many fine irregular cracks. The inner skin which shows through is red until the fruit ripens, when it becomes white. If the fruit is cut open a large, slightly sticky mass of pin-head brownish seeds is exposed, embedded in a pasty matrix which fills the inside of the fruit but is separate from the shell. Flowering was over by the time the first specimens were seen, but it is known that the flowers of this genus have a smell of carrion and that they protrude above the ground, where they can be reached by the insects necessary to bring about their fertilisation. They have no petals or sepals in the usual sense, their

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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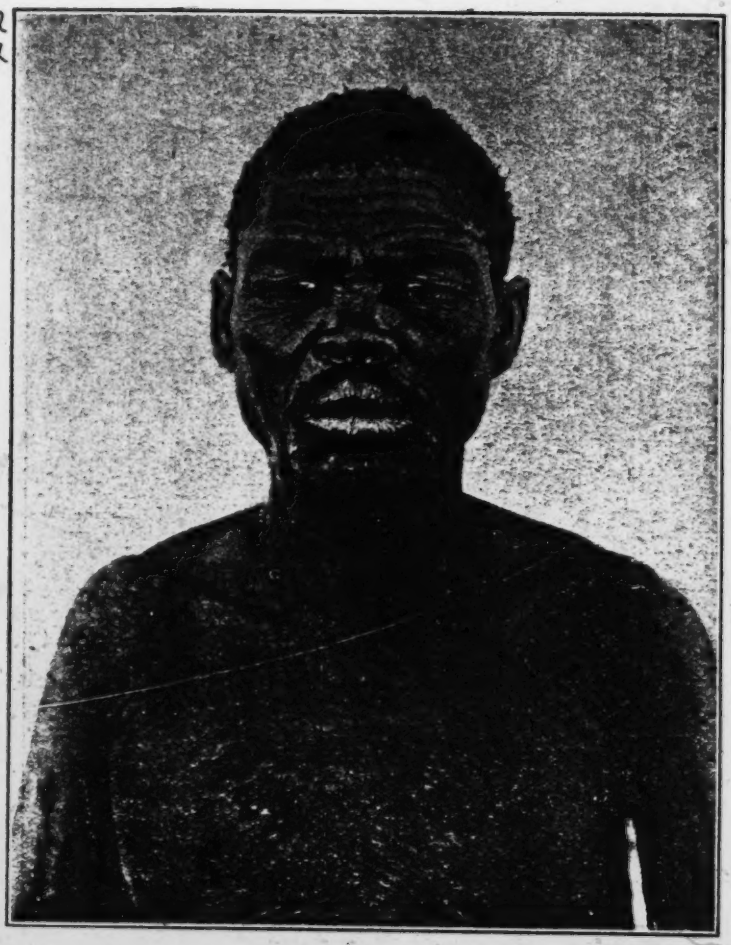

/nu-//ein Bushman.
Gobabis.

[FACING p. 80]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesitant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still . . sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on [524] her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair 302 531 with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

000 It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never returned. 648 609

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the 372 302

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog- [142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this season and the people who belonged there were scattered through the veld because the rains had been so good that there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would 222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass, which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day, for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it, they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and 222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire 271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[P. 176(B)]

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

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Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

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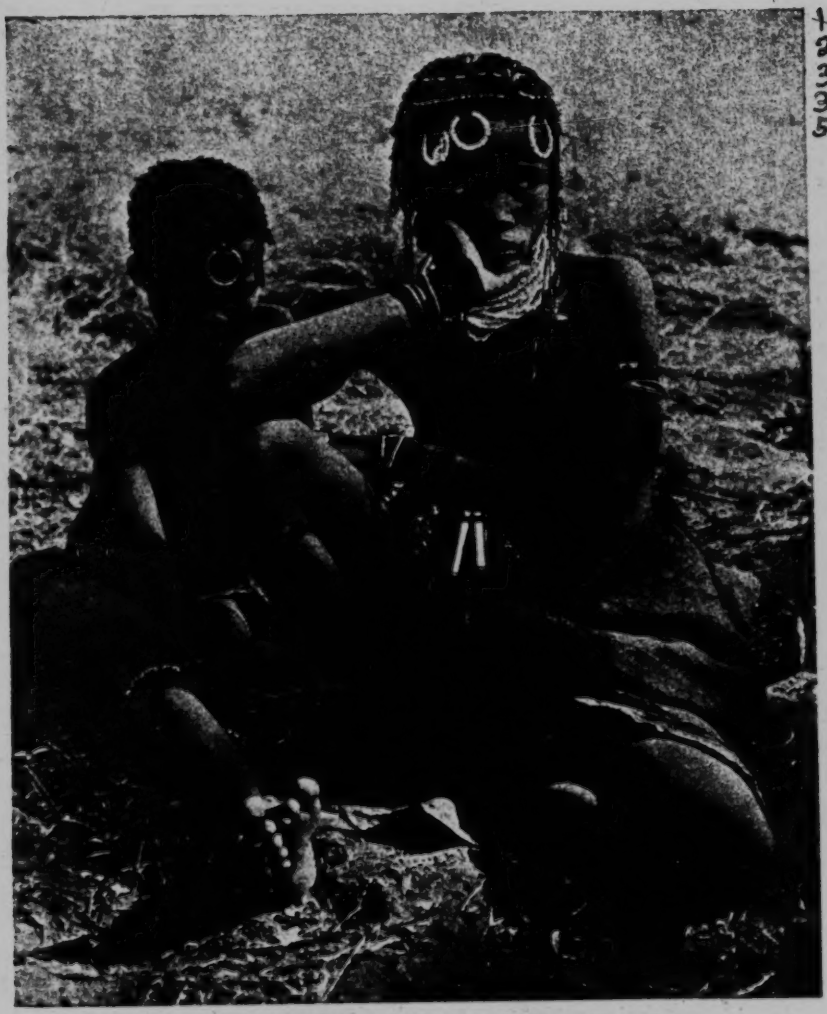

Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

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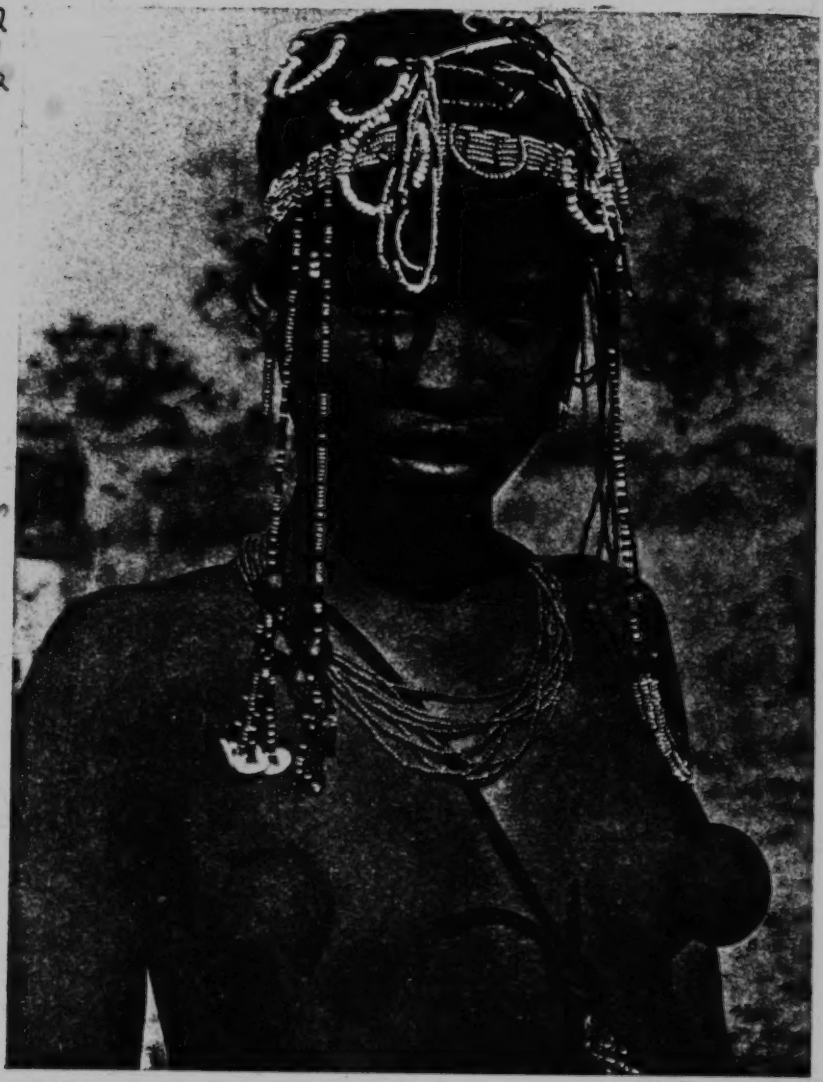

Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.

[p. 176 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (9)]

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Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see, for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since they were their parents' only children, they had no younger brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs, rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and almost hid their handsome faces.

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Kung

work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fire side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

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Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

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The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1932 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that ' a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

Tobacco they need ' to make the heart feel better '. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

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can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening—they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

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VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*cont.*)

REEDS

Made and used by men
arrowshafts

Used by women
strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

BARK

Made and used by men
quivers

TSI NUTS

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

Made by men
arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for
sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women
powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

MALLEABLE METAL AND WIRE

Made and used by men
arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all
pipes
awls

Used by men
knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all
beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

DANS cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

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A Headman ǂToma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80). [194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (ǂ). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

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513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation [562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

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!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai.*"

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

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[Facing p. 118]

L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[*face p.* 118

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CHAPTER VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

DANCING AND MUSIC

535 DANCES and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.